



# PAY UPSURGE CONFRONTS TUC

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Government policy on wages is now clear. Callaghan and the Liberal leadership are determined to impose a third year of rigid wage controls on the working class.

Chancellor Healey has spelled out his unilateral demands: restrict pay settlements to 6% and stick to the 12-month rule. And regardless of union conference decisions opposing a Phase 3, the coalition government will use all the means at its disposal to enforce it against growing militancy on wages.

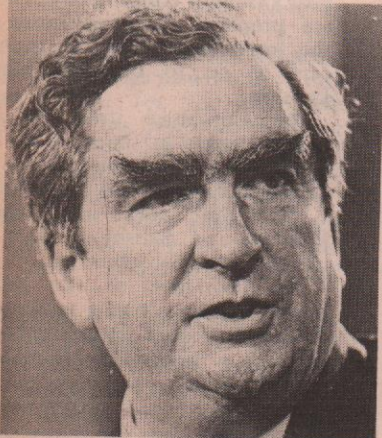
As part of the preparations the Confederation of British Industry has sent a circular to all members telling them not to publicise pay claims because, they say, if other workers realised the size of these claims it would have a snowballing effect.

## WAVE OF CLAIMS

And Foreign Secretary David Owen has pleaded for the press to "take individual wage claims off the front page of our newspapers."

Employers and government alike both know only too well that even though the main publicity has so far been focussed on workers lining up to break the 12-month rule on pay increases, behind these workers is a wave of pay claims that threaten to burst asunder the 6% limit.

These claims are building up despite the fact that the TUC—though officially abandoning their plans for a Phase 3 of wage control—are straining to hold the fort for the Lib-Lab coalition government.



Healey

The government itself has for this reason adopted the policy advocated by the Liberal Party—using sanctions against any employer who breaks Healey's 5-6% limit. These sanctions include refusal to allow price increases, refusal to grant emergency credit, and cancellation of government contracts.

And in the public sector

Healey's strategy is to impose rigid cash limits, in order to create the threat that wage increases above the limit could cause unemployment.

Meanwhile the TUC is working just as actively to enforce the 12-month rule as it did to police Phase 2's 5% limit. At Heinz unions have been called to the TUC, while at General Engineering an agreed increase has been stopped.

## FLOUTED

The main TUC leaders continue to flout their own conference decisions. Clearest example is the Finance and General Purposes Committee of the TGWU, which has sent out a circular to officials telling them to respect the 12-month rule—a policy specifically defeated at the TGWU conference.

Now the committee has said that the letter "only applies until the TUC Congress" in September, and that after September the TGWU—while itself voting against the 12-month rule—would accept the TUC majority vote.

The Communist Party's daily paper, the *Morning Star* hailed this scandalous statement as:

"a considerable shot in the arm for the fight to win a majority [against the 12-month rule] at the TUC."

## NO SUPPORT

This is a clear sign that the Communist Party will give no support to those sections of workers who correctly reject the idea that the TUC bureaucrats should override the conference decisions of individual unions, and who decide to fight, regardless of the TUC vote, against both the 12-month rule and against any interference in free collective bargaining.

In just the same way the Communist Party scabbed on actions like the Leyland toolroom strike which could have broken Phase 2.

The policy needed is full support for all those who take action to regain and defend their living standards, and for supporting action.

## FIGHT BEGUN

Already some sections have begun the fight. At Export Packing Services, Banbury, TGWU members are out on strike demanding £15 a week increase, at Lucas in Birmingham toolroom workers are still out for £5.

Other claims include Chrysler skilled workers (£92 per week), dockers (£100 per week) and miners (£135 per week) as well as railwaymen (67%).



PHOTO: Andrew Ward, Report.

Police clear route for fascists sporting Ku Klux Klan flag

# DROP THE CHARGES

But this is not enough. Policies must be fought for that challenge all of the threats made by the government and the TUC about "price explosions" and possible unemployment.

## COWLEY £100 CLAIM

The TGWU shop stewards committee at Leyland's Body Plant at Cowley, representing 7,000 members, has given a lead on this by voting overwhelmingly to submit a claim for an increase of £33.64 across the board—making production workers' wages £100 per week.

Most important of all this catching up claim is linked to a demand for a cost of living clause to protect against inflation as assessed by a trade union committee. The demand is for this to be paid in October—four months ahead of the February review date.

The biggest TGWU branch in the neighbouring Leyland Assembly plant has adopted a similar policy and is now pressing

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Frustration at years of police brutality could be seen in the actions of black youth in the anti-National Front demonstration in Lewisham last weekend.

The police made no bones about it, they were there to defend the fascists and to brutalise the anti-fascists, from the first use of horses at 1.15pm (nearly two hours before the NF were due to set off) right the way through the afternoon.

One thing was certain. The 500 or so National Front marchers, in a march that had been publicised by all the national press, were confronted by many times their number of anti-fascists.

## BISHOPS

This was under conditions where the Labour Party (right wing and 'left' talkers) and the Communist Party told their supporters not to go, not to attempt to stop the fascists.

These 'respectable' people preferred to stay with assorted bishops and other clergy and call on the capitalist state to ban the fascists, who themselves are supporters of capitalism.

As it is the capitalist press have turned this into an attack on the left.

Some 'left' MPs have called just for the banning of National Front marches.

But this policy only plays into the hands of those who want to attack the workers movement.

Remember it was the same McNee in charge of policing the mass picket on July 11.

And the Public Order Act of 1936 was brought in supposedly against the fascists, but was used only against the left wing.

To our knowledge no left wing MP has yet supported the action of those workers and youth who dealt a tremendous blow to the NF on Saturday—a blow which could have driven them off the streets altogether if the organised labour movement had been fully mobilised against them.

None of them have taken up the demand to release those arrested and for the dropping of the charges.

The fascists are not just racials. They want to break up the whole labour movement. But Saturday showed that it is possible now to organise workers defence squads capable of defending black workers, labour movement premises, meetings and picket lines from fascist attack.



## WHAT NEXT IN CYPRUS?

**"One thousand Makarioses will continue his work". That is the motto carved on the mountain top tomb in which the man officially known as His Beatitude Archbishop Makarios III was buried last week.**

But Greek Cypriot political leaders do not yet seem to have found even one new Makarios—that is a President sanctioned by the imperialists, the Communist Party and God.

Makarios was elected Archbishop of the Autocephalous (Orthodox) Church of Cyprus (then a British colony) in 1950.

His oath on taking office included a commitment to "Enosis" (union of the island with Greece). Enosis has previously been supported not only by the Church but also by the Communist Party (known as AKEL) which had hoped for a Communist victory in the Greek civil war of the 1940s.

After the victory of the imperialist-backed right wing, Enosis in Cyprus became the policy of the right.

### EOKA

In the same year that Makarios became Archbishop, a Greek colonel, George Grivas established EOKA, an organisation pledged to a military campaign against the British in favour of Enosis.

Grivas had led the anti-communist 'X' commando group and also ordered his followers to attack Communists in Cyprus.

Grivas realised however, that he could not succeed without the support of the powerful Archbishop.

Makarios, as the price of his (sometimes ambiguous) collaboration with EOKA got Grivas to soften his attacks on the Communists.

In return AKEL maintained a neutral position on the EOKA campaign, abstained from any more principled form of anti-colonialist struggle and hid behind the copious prestige of His Beatitude—a position they maintained faithfully up to his death.

In 1955 EOKA launched its major military campaign against the British Army which was unable to control it and resorted to generalised reprisals against the Greek population of the island (80% of the total).



Makarios

The removal of Makarios to a year's exile in the Seychelle Islands in 1956 and 1957 had the opposite effect to the one the British colonialists wanted.

He was repatriated and, after long negotiations with the leaders of the minority Turkish community, the British, Greek and Turkish governments, the London and Zurich accords were signed which led to Cyprus' independence in 1960.

The agreement involved a renunciation of Enosis at the insistence of the Turkish government, and a series of constitutional safeguards for the Turkish community with

Greece and Turkey. The British also maintained generous military facilities on the island.

Thus in 1960 Cyprus became a neo-colonial state and Makarios was elected President with 70% of the vote.

The support he lost from some pro-Enosis forces who spoke of betrayal, was made up for by the complete support of the AKEL Communist Party and the EDEK Socialist Party.

EDEK's origins are as a petty-bourgeois nationalist party and despite its 'socialist' pretensions it has failed to challenge the AKEL's control of the working class.

### UNCHALLENGED

AKEL has dominated the island's main trade union federation, the PEO. But EDEK has been as abject a supporter of Makarios as AKEL.

The EDEK leader, Vassos Lyssarides, was the Archbishop's personal physician.

Through the early 1960's Makarios maintained unchallenged power through a delicate balancing act between the EOKA and its reactionary backers in Greece on the one side and AKEL Communists and EDEK Socialists on the other.

It was a kind of virtuoso political protection racket—he offered "protection" to each side against the other.

But he was unable to meet the demands of either the supporters of Enosis or of the masses of Cypriot workers who voted for the AKEL Communists.

The one policy which seemed able to prevent the pro-Makarios alliance blowing apart was an aggressive chauvinist policy within the island towards the minority Turkish community.

Hence in 1963 Makarios proposed constitutional changes to the Turks which would have reduced the formal protection of the minority.

This precipitated inter-community violence and in 1964 the arrival of a United Nations "peace-keeping" force which has remained ever since.

The other policy through which Makarios aimed to reconcile the potential conflicts among his supporters was his demagogic "non-aligned" foreign policy which in practice brought him increasingly close to the Soviet Union, although he was careful never to lose the confidence of the imperialists.

This policy also meant increasing influence for the AKEL whose leader, Papaioannou, has a season ticket to Moscow.

### OPPOSITION

This policy, however, met with increasingly active opposition from the reactionary military dictatorship which had taken power in Greece in 1967 and which was closely allied to Grivas and the remnants of EOKA.

This conflict came to a head in 1972 when Makarios accepted military aid from Czechoslovakia.

The Greek Junta forced Makarios to hand over these arms to the United Nations, to sack his cabinet and replace it with personnel acceptable to the colonels.

The old pro-Makarios alliance was shaken and he came to rely much more on the far right pro-Enosis forces.

But this was not enough for the Greek colonels. In 1974 they supported a coup against Makarios led by Nicos Sampson, an officer in the Cypriot army.

Although Makarios fled into his second exile, the coup proved to be

The Turkish army invaded the island (and has occupied 40% of it ever since). Sampson was forced to resign and replaced by a caretaker regime under right-winger Glafcos Clerides.

And the Greek Junta was fatally wounded by these events and within a few weeks had itself been overthrown.

In December 1974 Makarios returned to Cyprus and reestablished the old political alliance—although a section of the right-wing under Clerides, the interim President, decided to move into more open opposition in preparation for the end of the regime of Makarios whose health was already

deteriorating.

In last year's general elections Clerides' Democratic Rally party failed to win any of the 35 seats in the parliament.

All were won by the popular-front alliance of AKEL, EDEK and the bourgeois Democratic Front which supported Makarios.

Immediately after Makarios' death this popular front alliance is still holding together.

His "natural successor" Syros Kyprianou, leader of the Democratic Front, and the interim President, is in poor health.

This is why political leaders have been arguing over which of two reactionary Presidents is to

succeed Makarios.

The responsibility for this situation lies with the EDEK Socialist Party and even more with the Stalinists of the AKEL Communist Party.

The policies of the AKEL leaders have been totally consistent for 30 years: a complete refusal to stand up for any independent demands of the working class.

They have tied the interests of the working class to Makarios and the Cypriot and imperialist bourgeoisie.

Although they receive up to 40% of the votes in elections, they have abjectly supported his narrow chauvinist policies and his consistently anti-working class social and economic measures.

AKEL's fawning adulation of Makarios has allowed its bureaucratic leaders to grow fat.

The party has concessions to run import-export businesses such as the People's Spirit Company of Limassol!

These "leaders of the Cypriot working class" are in effect part of the capitalist class.

No need is now greater in Cyprus than the building of a Trotskyist party which can fight for the independence of the Cypriot workers and peasants and against the consequences of decades of chauvinism and class-collaboration.

Such a party must fight against the installation of a new right wing President to replace Makarios: for the withdrawal of all foreign armies from Cyprus (those of Turkey, Greece, Britain and the United Nations); for an end to the popular front; and for a whole programme of economic and social demands for workers and peasants along with democratic rights for the Turkish minority.



Makarios in his coffin

## STOP OWEN'S PLAN

**With the frenetic diplomacy taking place over the last week in Downing Street, Chequers and Heathrow Airport, to 'solve' the Zimbabwe problem, one thing has been missing—the authentic voice of the workers and peasants of Zimbabwe.**

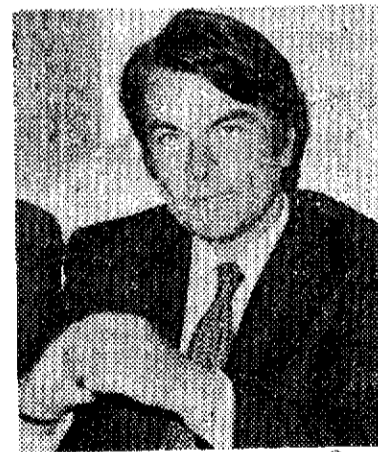
The centrepiece of the discussions has been a renewed effort to reactivate the Zimbabwe 'stabilisation' plan devised by the United States, Britain and South Africa.

What they are planning is the removal of Ian Smith, and his rapid replacement with a black and white neo-colonial government legitimised through elections which would exclude the liberation movements from political power.

An essential part of this plan is that Smith's arm should be twisted into accepting it by the South African government.

Hence the fawning welcome given by British Foreign Secretary Owen and US Secretary of State Vance to Pik Botha, Foreign Minister of the racist dictatorship in London last week.

Botha has succeeded in keeping Owen and Vance guessing as to the



Owen

Smith.

The South African dictatorship wants least of all to see a military and political victory to the liberation movements.

### OPPORTUNISTS

At the same time it is probably not convinced that the British-American neo-colonial plan is capable of avoiding this outcome.

If the racists of South Africa are essential to one side of the Owen-Vance plan, the opportunists of the black ruled states and the Zimbabwean nationalist organisations are equally essential to the other side.

They too were in London last week. Tanzanian president Julius Nyerere, has implied that he will support the plan which can only mean he is prepared to withdraw material aid to the guerrillas.

More crucial to Owen and Vance is Bishop Abel Muzorewa, head of the United African National Council.

Muzorewa is extremely anxious to destroy the guerrilla armies and assume power himself in the guise

In London last week behind a smokescreen of bombast about "one man, one vote" he was pushing a pernicious compromise plan to replace Smith with a Constitutional Council representing the UANC, Smith's racist Rhodesia Front and the British government.

There are persistent reports that he has already done a secret deal of this kind with Smith.

The recent visits of ZANU leader Robert Mugabe, and ZAPU leader, Joshua Nkomo, to Peking and Havana respectively suggest that they are preparing to step up the war.

Nonetheless, both leaders have shown in the past (for instance, through their participation in last year's Geneva conference) that they are prepared to compromise with the imperialists, and Nkomo took care to go to Cuba by way of London.

In Zimbabwe itself, however, developments in the national liberation war have highlighted the desperate situation of the racists.

In recent weeks major railway lines around Salisbury have been cut three times by bombs.

In the face of the growing assault Smith is trying to repair his damaged prestige among the whites through a "general election" at the end of August.

### LAST-DITCH EFFORT

It is that situation which has made Owen, Vance and Botha rush to try to achieve what can only be a last-ditch effort at compromise. It is the task of the British Labour movement to sabotage this counter-revolutionary plan by demanding the expulsion from the party of Owen and all other Labour Ministers responsible for collaboration with racist rule in Southern

# Turkish bosses boost fascists

The new right wing National Front coalition government in Turkey led by Justice Party leader Suleyman Demirel has achieved a vote of confidence in Parliament.

This clearly marks a decision by the Turkish capitalist class that their economic plight is so

desperate (with a 35% currency devaluation to come) that they are now determined to bolster up the fascist forces that are Demirel's stable-mates in the coalition.

The capitalists feel unable now to rely as before on the loyal efforts of the union leaders to control and divert the working class at a time when yet another series of attacks on living standards is about to be unleashed.

## GENERAL STRIKE

Rather they must attempt to smash the unions. Even the most right wing union bureaucrats have now recognised this harsh reality.

This is what has pressed the leaders of the right wing confederation Turk-is to call for a general strike against the NF coalition government—in a desperate bid by the bureaucracy for self-preservation.

Talks are now planned on this call between Turk-is and the 'left' union confederation, DISK.

Central on the agenda of these bureaucrats will be the problem of keeping such a strike under control, within the bounds of bourgeois democracy.

## DEFENCE SQUADS

They will certainly set out to limit the strike to a one-day or two-day token protest—which will do nothing to politically strengthen the working class, and encourage further fascist attacks.

The call must be for working class organisations and workers' parties to break all links with the bourgeois parties and to mobilise an all-out general strike to bring down the Demirel coalition. To protect against fascist attacks, workers defence squads must be formed.

# TEAMSTER LEADERS IN NIXON SCANDAL

"What I mean is you could get a million dollars . . . and you could get it in cash. I know it could be gotten . . . we could get the money. There is no problem in that."

The speaker—Richard Nixon; the time—March 21, 1973; the context—a conversation with White House Counsel John Dean about the Watergate burglars' demands for hush-money.

Since the transcript of that tape recorded conversation was made public in 1974, no one has figured out precisely what money Nixon was referring to.

But details of a secret FBI report, published in the August 8 edition of *Time* magazine, reveal that Nixon was referring to a secret cash fund which had been raised for him by racketeers connected with America's largest union, the Teamsters.

## "THANK YOU"

The fund was not directly connected with Watergate. It was intended instead as a "thank-you" payment from Teamster boss Frank Fitzsimmons—a long-standing Nixonite—for White House co-operation in preventing ex-union leader Jimmy Hoffa regaining control.

Hoffa had been top dog in the Teamsters until 1967. Then, after a long investigation led by Robert Kennedy he was given a 13 year jail sentence for jury-tampering and mail fraud.

Nixon commuted the sentence in December 1971, but added a proviso that Hoffa should have nothing to do with the union until March 1980, when his sentence would have expired.

Like all gangsters Hoffa scorned such legal niceties and persisted in his efforts to oust Fitzsimmons and restore himself to the presidency. But with considerable help from the Nixon administration, Fitzsimmons managed to beat down Hoffa and held onto power himself.

Hoffa subsequently vanished on July 30, 1975 and is still missing, presumed dead.



Nixon

Fitzsimmons still rules the roost, although he and Anthony Provenzano are now being fingered by the FBI in connection with the Nixon pay-off.

In addition, Provenzano—who was Teamster boss in New Jersey until his conviction in 1963 for racketeering—is considered prime suspect in Hoffa's disappearance.

According to the *Time* report, Provenzano and a strong arm heavy Salvatore Briguglio ordered in January 1973 that \$500,000 in cash be delivered to a White House courier in Las Vegas.

Provenzano is alleged to have told an associate that he had collected the money at Fitzsimmons' request, and that another \$500,000 had been provided for Nixon—also on Fitzsimmons' request—by Allen Dorfman, a convicted Chicago hoodlum and "adviser" to the Teamsters' Pension Fund.

## SIGNIFICANT

Provenzano is further quoted as saying that the cash had been requested by White House aide Charles Colson, who was responsible for White House/Teamster relations.

The timing of these payments is significant, for it was in late 1972



Fitzsimmons

threatened to sing about the burglary and the cover-up unless he was paid for his silence. The Fitzsimmons cash was obviously much needed.

No-one yet knows what became of the \$1,000,000 syphoned off from Teamster members.

The FBI have established that a Provenzano courier was in Las Vegas on January 6; that Charles Colson was absent from the White House on the 6th and 7th, and that he spoke to Fitzsimmons on the 8th.

But so far—according to their version—they have been unable to unearth the cash. Colson, who was interviewed by FBI agents last February, has denied all knowledge of the Teamster money.

The FBI have yet to speak to Nixon—but in any case he is immune from any punishment for federal crimes committed during his years of office because of the pardon granted by Gerald Ford.

## TIP OF ICEBERG

These revelations are obviously only the tip of the iceberg. The FBI—notorious throughout the world for its anti-working class, anti-union activities—have no intention of pursuing this inquiry through to the end; who knows what slimy objects would be dragged into the light of day by such an investigation?

But even if the FBI were to pursue their inquiries, this would be of no benefit to America's working

class. A chief objective of a state enquiry is to reaffirm and bolster the myth of the state as impartial, politically neutral.

In the case of the USA, the myth has been badly tarnished as a result of Vietnam and Watergate. By turning a few notorious corrupt individuals into scapegoats the FBI obviously hope to restore confidence in the US state machinery.

Moreover, the subject of inquiry in this instance is not Frank Fitzsimmons or Tony Provenzano; it is in reality, Teamsters' Union, which—matter how reactionary the bureaucracy at its head—remains workers' organisation, and which must be unconditional protected against any form of capitalist aggression.

The FBI's investigation can only be used against the union as a whole.

Socialists in America must therefore demand the immediate end of the FBI inquiry. But this demand must be linked to a call for a workers' investigation of Teamsters' financial transactions.

Rank and file teamsters need this information not for platon purposes, but as a lever to oust the rotten pro-capitalist, mafia-type bureaucracy which weighs down them.

Such an inquiry could serve to show American workers the need to break all ties with the Democratic and Republican parties and to need to construct their own union-based, workers' party.



Ford

## IN BRIEF

### CHILE

Dictator Pinochet's announcement of the "dissolution" of the DINA (the hated semi-autonomous secret police) is nothing more than a cosmetic gesture designed to make it easier for Carter's "human rights" administration to furnish economic aid to the hard-pressed junta. The DINA will cease to function in name only. Its functions are to be taken over by an innocently-named government information agency modelled on Carter's CIA.

### PERU

The wave of strikes and demonstrations against the military dictatorship's economic austerity measures have led to hundreds of arrests. Employers have followed the regime's encouragement to sack thousands of militant workers.

### ETHIOPIA

The Ethiopian military dictatorship has virtually admitted the claim of the West Somalia Liberation Organisation to control 90% of the Ogaden region. As the war has sharply intensified so has the embarrassment of the Soviet bureaucracy, nominally allied to both sides. The Soviet news agency, Tass, has issued a series of plaintive appeals for negotiation.

# ARGENTINA: ACT TO HELP FREE MILITANTS

Since the military coup of March 24, 1976, the workers of Argentina have been faced with a two-pronged attack from General Videla's junta.

Political repression has been capped by an onslaught on working class living standards in an attempt to strengthen bourgeois rule in the country.

Real wages during the first quarter of 1977 were one-third lower than they were in 1960, and just 53% of what they were in 1943.

These cuts have been achieved by holding wages down and letting inflation rip: for the first five months of this year the inflation rate was 42%—an overall figure which conceals the even higher rises in the price of essential goods.

On July 1, rents were increased by 25%—which means that rents have risen tenfold over the last year.

All told it is calculated that an immediate wage rise of 150% is needed just to restore living standards to the 1974 level.

In dozens of factories the workers have shown a clear willingness to resist this economic onslaught by demanding higher wages.

But this preparedness to fight has not yet been channelled into an organised, systematic movement capable of smashing through these starvation wages and overthrowing the Videla regime.

Chief culprit in blocking the formation of such a movement is the trade union bureaucracy throughout the country.

"normalisation" plans (i.e. his scheme for a docile, housebroken trade union structure), the class-collaborationist bureaucrats have rushed around betraying every single demand raised by the workers.

But Videla cannot rely on the trade union bureaucracy alone to discipline the working class, and has, in the year since the coup, stepped up repression.

The latest victim of these measures is one Enrique Broquen, the main legal adviser of the PST—Argentinian sympathising section of the "United" Secretariat of the Fourth International.

Broquen, aged 69, had been actively involved in defending political prisoners—including the almost 100 members of the PST now missing or in jail—until his kidnapping on July 5.

He is one of several defence lawyers to have disappeared since last year, and is probably now in one of Videla's countless jails—if not already dead.

It is the elementary duty of socialists to demand that the leaders of the labour movement in Britain and other capitalist countries call blacking action against Argentina to secure the overthrow of the Junta and the restoration of full democratic rights.

High on this list of rights must be the demand for the immediate release of Broquen and all other political prisoners in Argentina.

Videla's efforts to crush the Argentinian working class through economic and political terror must

# WORKERS SOCIALIST LEAGUE

The Workers Socialist League is a Trotskyist organisation fighting to build a revolutionary leadership in the working class to lead the mounting opposition to the betrayals of both 'left' and right wing Labour and trade union leaders and the Communist Party, as they attempt to enforce wage control, sackings, speed-up and public service cuts.

As workers take up the struggle against these policies they are forced by the sheer weight of forces opposing them to confront political questions. Only with an understanding of the role of the labour bureaucracy and a programme to unite the broadest sections of workers in struggle can a way forward be found.

The Workers Socialist League is the only movement that sets out to do this, fighting consistently in the working class for transitional demands, which go beyond simply trade union militancy to raise the political questions to workers and prepare the forms of organisation and the knowledge necessary for the struggle for socialism.

As a result we have been at the forefront of struggles against the cuts, against wage control, for unionisation, and against redundancy. We have done more than any other tendency to fight the introduction of 'workers' participation' in industry. And we have strongly supported the Campaign for Democracy in the Labour Movement, which has set out to show the link between the reactionary policies of the Social Contract and bureaucratic dictatorship in both the unions and the Labour Party.

But our practical struggle for the continuity of the principles and method of Trotsky's Transitional Programme is in no way a task confined to Britain. It requires an attention and involvement in the struggles of the working class internationally, and the fight to reconstruct the Trotskyist Fourth International.

So there has been a consistent drive within the WSL to deepen and enrich the movement's understanding of the history and the present crisis of the Fourth International as an essential part of our initiative towards its reconstruction.

We urge all readers who agree on the need for revolutionary leadership and the demands we put forward to find out more about the

# HEFFER APPLAUDS SOCIAL CONTRACT

Life has not been easy recently for those who cling on to hopes that 'left' Labourites such as Eric Heffer will some day turn and fight the reactionary Callaghan-Healey leadership.

Not only has Heffer, with his equally spineless coterie of left-talking cronies in the Tribune Group trooped time and again into the Parliamentary lobby to register support for the coalition deal with the Liberal Party, but now to add insult to injury he has gone into print with an exultant article in the Labour Party's press service bulletin proclaiming "The Social Contract is Still Alive and Well."

## FABRICATED

Heffer begins this piece of professional confusion-mongering by insisting:

"... there has been a great deal of deliberate misunderstanding about the Social Contract. It has been interpreted purely as a wages policy by far too many people."

Heffer is careful himself not to oppose the concept of an incomes policy.

And he sets out to bolster the illusion fabricated by both government and TUC that the two years of wage control was a "voluntary" policy.

In reality of course it was a compulsory policy bureaucratically foisted on their members by TUC leaders.

But Heffer "understands" the revulsion of union members against these betrayals:

"The revolt of the rank and file has been perfectly understandable. They have accepted [!] real reduc-

tions in their standard of living, and with the best will in the world, with prices and unemployment continuing to rise cannot be expected to co-operate [!] indefinitely."

But, Heffer repeats, "the Social Contract when it was first conceived was not about wages."



Benn—another 'left' supporter of the Lib-Lab coalition.

So what was it about? Was it about lowering unemployment, now at a record 1.61 million?

Was it about holding down prices, now soaring at 17.6% per year?

Was it about improving the social services, now slashed to

ribbons by cuts and a rigid cash limits straightjacket?

Was it about housing, about education, likewise laid waste by the swingeing cuts of Healey and Callaghan?

Whichever way you look, the fire of rhetoric of the Social Contract is reduced to the squalid reality of class betrayal by Labour and trade union leaders selling the interests of their members to the profit-gluttons of the CBI in the name of some supposedly common "national interest".

## DIGGING IN

This has now reached a new depth in the Lib-Lab coalition. The TUC's endorsement of an extension of the Social Contract now means fresh endorsement of a deal which subordinates the Labour Party to Britain's second string capitalist party.

Labour Party members must heed this warning. Heffer and the 'left' are digging in for prolonged and conscious support for the coalition deal.

Every CLP must be mobilised to demand the 'lefts' fight to break the Lib-Lab deal, and to remove those right wingers who aim to extend it.

The October Labour Party



Heffer

conference must be lobbied around these demands:

- \*Break the Lib-Lab coalition!
- \*Labour 'lefts' must campaign for the removal of the Callaghan-Healey leadership.
- \*Adopt a socialist programme to fight the next general election.

PHOTO: Chris Davies, Report

# LOBBY TUC!

We call on all readers and supporters to rally on 5 September at 11.00 am. in Blackpool, on the following demands:

\*TGWU and AUEW accept conference decisions.

\*No to the 12-month rule.

\*End unemployment! For a programme of public works.

\*Stop all sackings: occupy and demand work sharing on full pay.

\*Regain and defend living standards: wage claims to restore 1974 levels with cost of living clauses.

\*Full-scale blacking of Grunwick by all unions.

\* National strike action to force a halt to all cuts in social services.

## Now for the real verdict

The trial of the Islington 18 is now over. The jury, after a week of considering their verdicts could only return eight 'guilty' verdicts out of 51.

They could not agree on 28 others, including the charges of

'conspiracy to rob' and 'conspiracy to steal'.

This is one indication of the difficulty they had in considering the statements obtained from the boys by force in the police stations of Islington.

The Judge, a former Tory MP, took time in his summing up to commend Sgt. Gallagher and his team for their conduct of the case.

This commendation is to be conveyed to the police superiors and so give them carte blanche to continue their previous practices of extracting statements by force and keeping keys in order to return for later searches after making dawn raids on people's homes.

For those found 'guilty' the sentences were harsh. Two were given 3 years for robbery, and fines of £150 and £75 and borstal sentences were also given. One of the 18 has effectively been deported.

His defence counsel pleaded that he wanted to go to Nigeria so the Judge set a date for his departure and ruled that he could not return to this country for 5 years.

Of those acquitted, some had spent six months in detention because the police consistently refused bail, while on the outstanding charges, the Judge decided that there would not be a re-trial but has left the charges hanging over the heads of the youths, to be taken up again in the future should the authorities so decide.

The parents had sent a letter to Merlyn Rees, the Home Secretary, listing the many reasons against a re-trial. They pointed out the record length of time it had taken the jury to consider 51 out of 89 charges, that only 8 guilty verdicts had been reached and that the Judge had dismissed them before they had returned verdicts on the conspiracy charges—implying that there was very little substance to these charges.

The report of the Labour Movement Enquiry into the affair organised under the auspices of the Islington 18 Defence Committee is due to be published as we go to press.

The Defence Committee has written to all the labour movement bodies represented at that enquiry calling on them to send observers to the Notting Hill Carnival at the end of the month.

The announcement by the Metropolitan Police that they intend to have their new riot shields on hand at the Carnival is itself a provocation.

Labour movement bodies which would like to send observers to the Notting Hill Carnival should contact the Islington 18 Defence

## Call to spread strike

WESTMINSTER PRESS group chapel of the National Union of Journalists have voted overwhelmingly to call for the strike at Darlington to be extended throughout the group.

Darlington NUJ members have now been out for 11 weeks on a demand for a 100% post entry membership agreement and for the last two weeks have been joined by printers, bringing the papers to a halt.

The demand has gone to the Emergency Committee of the NUJ and will go from there to the Printing Industries Committee of the TUC. A major fight will now be needed to get the policy put into operation.

## FOUNDERED

The government's plan to call in ACAS founder when Westminster Press refused to budge. Their offer was to recruit nobody at all until a Press Charter, limiting the action of journalists to strike has been pushed through Parliament.

Meanwhile national journalists are demanding pay increases of up to 45% after refusing to settle under Phase 2.

The membership is clearly rejecting the position of their delegation to the NUJ's annual conference, which swung the narrow vote in favour of controlled return to free collective bargaining and against a complete return.

The annual conference decided however that all pay claims should

Following the unwritten rule of selecting obnoxious and anti-socialist candidates for by-elections in the Midlands, Birmingham Ladywood Labour Party is fielding John Sever, a 34-year old executive with a travel company, in a bid to hold on to the seat abandoned by extreme right wing Labourite Brian Walden.

This takes place even after Leyland manager Terry Davis, standing uncritically on the wage-cutting policies of the Labour government, succeeded in destroying a massive Labour majority in Roy Jenkins' former seat at Stechford in Birmingham, swept away in an 18% swing to the Tories.

Of course it is not objectionable candidates as individuals that are devastating the Labour Party's electoral support.



John Sever

Rather it is the hostility of the working class to the reactionary policies implemented by the Callaghan-Healey leadership: policies which can only foster the belief that there is little difference between a Tory and a Labour government.

This illusion has been further developed by the Parliamentary coalition deal between the Labour leaders and the Liberal Party, centred on the common deter-

another year of rigid wage restraint and to avoid the implementation of socialist policies.

But what of those thousands of workers who still turn out to vote Labour? Are we to assume that these workers support the right wing line of Callaghan?

## ONLY MASS PARTY

On the contrary, Marxists have always insisted that workers vote for the Labour Party not because of the reactionary line of their leaders but in spite of them.

Workers vote Labour because it remains the only mass party based upon the organisations of the working class—built by the trade union movement at the turn of the century.

When Marxists argue for workers to vote Labour against the Tories and Liberals in general elections it is with this in view. We give no support whatever to the Labour leaders. We give no support to the reformist programme they put forward.

Instead we call for workers to pursue the fight within the unions and within the Labour Party for a socialist programme and for the construction of a leadership capable of implementing that programme.

In this way we show the need for a new type of party and leadership: a revolutionary party.

## COALITION

The situation is of course more complicated in by-elections at present because the Labour right-wing's policy involves advocating a continuation of the parliamentary

# WHY WE STILL SAY —

# 'VOTE LABOUR'

PHOTO: Labour Weekly

# INFLATION CON-TRICK IN FULL SWING

By an Economics Correspondent.

Lies and distortions about the current state of British capitalism are being used as a major weapon in an attempt to impose a third stage of incomes policy.

Labour Ministers are vying with each other to make the most optimistic forecasts about the future prospects for the economy.

The euphoria has been fuelled by the rise in the Retail Price Index in July of 0.1%, hailed as the downturn towards single figure inflation, but all forecasts centre on the warning that the only thing which can stop this is wage increases substantially over six per cent.

So what is the state of British capitalism?

## FRESH VEGETABLES

Part of the smallness of the rise in July is directly due to the sharp drop in the price of fresh vegetables (down by 11%). If the price of fresh food is excluded then the inflation rate for the month jumps from 0.1% to 0.65%, not that much lower than the similar figures for May and June.

The figures also include part of the excess profit refund which the Post Office has been ordered to make to telephone subscribers.

Reductions of this nature have a once-only impact and no effect at all on the underlying trend. Next month's figures will also show a similar once-off effect: the cut in the price of petrol.

## RAW MATERIALS

The cost of goods leaving British factories—that is the wholesale price index—went up last month by 1¼% leaving the annual rate unchanged at 21%.

This is despite a fall in the cost of raw materials from abroad. Since manufacturers are paying out less in real wages, because of Phases I and II it is clear that the effect of the wage curbs has been to do nothing for prices but everything for profits.

The lower costs have not been

passed on.

Nor can the cost of goods from abroad be expected to stay low in the long run. The cost of raw material commodities on the world market is determined almost exclusively by speculation.

## OUTPUT FELL

The most important fact emerging from last month's figures is that industrial output fell in Britain by the largest amount for over two years. Production is now well below the level of the three day week. So much for 'booming Britain'.

The balance of trade was far worse than the government had predicted and only North Sea Oil prevented the figures from being appalling.

The result of the low output has been to make projections about unemployment still more gloomy.

The 1.4 million 'hard core' unemployed excluding school-leavers is now expected to rise to 1.7 or 1.8 million by the end of the year. The two million mark cannot be ruled out.

## FOREIGN CAPITAL

The other leg of the so-called recovery has been the influx of foreign capital.

This is what used to be more accurately called 'hot footloose money' by the government in the days before they needed it.

It slops around the world looking for the best short term reward and will leave with as little compunction as it arrived.

Since the pound is being allowed to rise, the cost of imports drops and exports become more expensive—destroying the 'export led boom' we are told to expect and sacrifice for.

## WRONG SORT

Imports last month were all of the wrong sort for any recovery.

Manufactured goods are being bought at very high levels, vital

imports for industry are not being increased.

The death throes of British capitalism as part of a crisis ridden world system will take more than a bedside manner from Healey to cure. The vital necessity for wage rises to match inflation is with us

more than ever before.

Far from prompting a new wave of inflation, such a policy is the only means of combatting an inevitable rush of massive price increases in the autumn and winter this year.



TUC leader Murray.

# PRESS GANG

Whenever the Press announces that it is defending a basic freedom you can be sure that some enemy of the capitalist class is about to catch it in the neck.

The freedom "to join or not to join" a trade union (as at Grunwick and thousands of other places) means the freedom to be crushed by the employer.

But nothing can exceed in hypocrisy the 'freedom' defended by the Press for the past two weeks—the freedom of the National Front to march.

The NF march has played an important role for the press. In the first place they have used the opportunity to smear the left and to attempt to identify communism with fascism, a practice which carries little weight in the organised sections of the working class.

It does however make an appeal to the petty bourgeoisie, where the popular press finds its strongest response.

The Daily Mail for example referred to "the fascists of the Right and of the Left".

At the same time every piece written about the NF march has carried a formal indictment of the fascists.

What then is the record of the press on racism? Last year reporting on the case of the Malawi Asians led directly to the murder of an Asian. But for years the press has pursued a policy of rampant racism, and jingoism.

Even as it declared its interest in 'race relations' the press continued its racist campaign.

George Gale in the Daily Express in a piece headed "Look on the black side" produced a squalid stream of complaints against West Indians, Asians, Jews and Irish for their "inability" to become "integrated".

Gale is calling for a census of black and brown people in Britain.

"The problem is not just one of colour. It is also one of numbers. But we don't know how many of them there are." (orig. emphasis).

This is only an extreme example of the way that the press produces its racism from behind a shield of moderation. "We" need to know how many of "them" there are. Race problems are not caused in the host country but imported in the immigrants.

"The theory that Britain would, on the whole, gain from the injection of new blood, as it has in the past, does not appear to be well founded. The strains and stresses imposed upon our society by the latest wave of immigration outweigh such advantages to the host community."

Which leads naturally onto the NF. On August 12 the Daily Mail—defending their right to march through a black area of Lewisham—said the Front was attracting recruits "through the virulence of its racist propaganda".

Only one week earlier the same paper put at the top of a page a story headed "Armed vigilante plan from National Front" which quoted the NF in Bristol as saying that whites were afraid to go out at night and 30 "able bodied young men" would walk the streets with sticks.

The story quoted one Labour, one Tory and a community relations chairman condemning the move and also quoted the police as saying that it was up to the police maintain "law and order" and that they were not aware of a mugging problem.

But it devoted the majority of the story to allowing the 52 year old company representative who fronts the Front in Bristol to explain just why the streets were "unsafe" and what they intended to do.

Defending the right of the Front to march is a defence of the racism of the press owners.

As the editorials might be phrased:

"Dear Adolph: We don't approve of your plan to destroy the working class movement, murder six million Jews and impose a Fascist regime... but we defend it."



PHOTO: Chris Davies, Report.

Healey using lies and distortions

# SCRAP THE IMMIGRATION LAWS

Over the last four months the courtrooms of Warwick and Leamington have seen the enactment of the latest state campaign against 'illegal' immigration.

On March 2, in a move that won national press publicity, the police arrested 15 people in Southall and Leamington. Since then another 17 have been locked up, awaiting charges of "illegal" immigration or of conspiracy to organise this traffic.

The inordinate time it is taking to drag these cases through the courts (especially the conspiracy charges) even caused the chairman of Leamington Magistrates to urge the Director of Public Prosecutions to get a move on.

## RACKET

The prosecution's plan has been to push through convictions of actual immigrants to provide the evidence for the trial of the organisers, which will now not take place until at least September, six months after the arrests!

So far four Indians have been convicted for 'knowingly' breaking the immigration regulations—a virtual impossibility, since they all spoke hardly any English and were illiterate.

These men, coming from agricultural areas of the Punjab, paid between £600 and £1600 for their passage, travelling in the boots of cars, on small boats and by plane.

The racket is alleged to revolve around one Gurdip Singh Sandhu.

three conspiracy charges. It is claimed that his shop in Leamington was the base for the operations.

## DEPORTED

All the convicted men have been deported, splitting one from his wife who is legally living in Britain. The judge at the appeal hearing for this man remarked:

The important thing is that unless people who enter this country illegally are deported there is precious little to prevent this sort of traffic continuing."

He added: "There is public outrage over this at the moment."

The real political direction of the trial could not have been better exposed. The whole trial is against "illegal" immigration, not the criminal activity or exploitation that surrounds it.

The effect of successful prosecutions of both immigrants and organisers will be to whip up this 'public outrage' against blacks.

In response to these dangerous moves an ad-hoc committee has been formed by both IWA's, the LPYS, Leamington Anti-Racist Group, SWP and the WSL to organise a protest meeting when the main trial starts and to picket the court if the fascists appear as they have at earlier hearings.

In a letter to be sent out to union and Labour Party branches the Protest Meeting Committee sums the trial up as a political attack on immigrants, pointing out that

"This trial is not motivated by a desire to increase immigration from

exploitation. It is a dangerous threat to all immigrants. It opens the way to continuous police investigations into the lives of black workers and their families, to increasing numbers of deportations and to increased freedom of activity for the police.

"If the trial is ignored or given support by the labour movement it will strengthen the racials who seek to blame unemployment, bad housing and all other social problems on immigrants and who favour deportations and the hounding of the black population as a 'solution'."

Police investigations after the murder of Mrs. Gautam, an Indian woman, last September, have undoubtedly aided their work for this trial.

The Protest Meeting Committee has agreed to take up these attacks with the platform of:

Abolish immigration controls! Immigration Laws are to blame—Stop the Trial; No Deportations—End Police Harrassment of Black Workers.

This can provide a political answer to this political trial.

## Trotskyism Today

Theoretical Journal of the Workers Socialist League.

NUMBER ONE

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- \* WHAT ARE THE LESSONS OF CUBA ?

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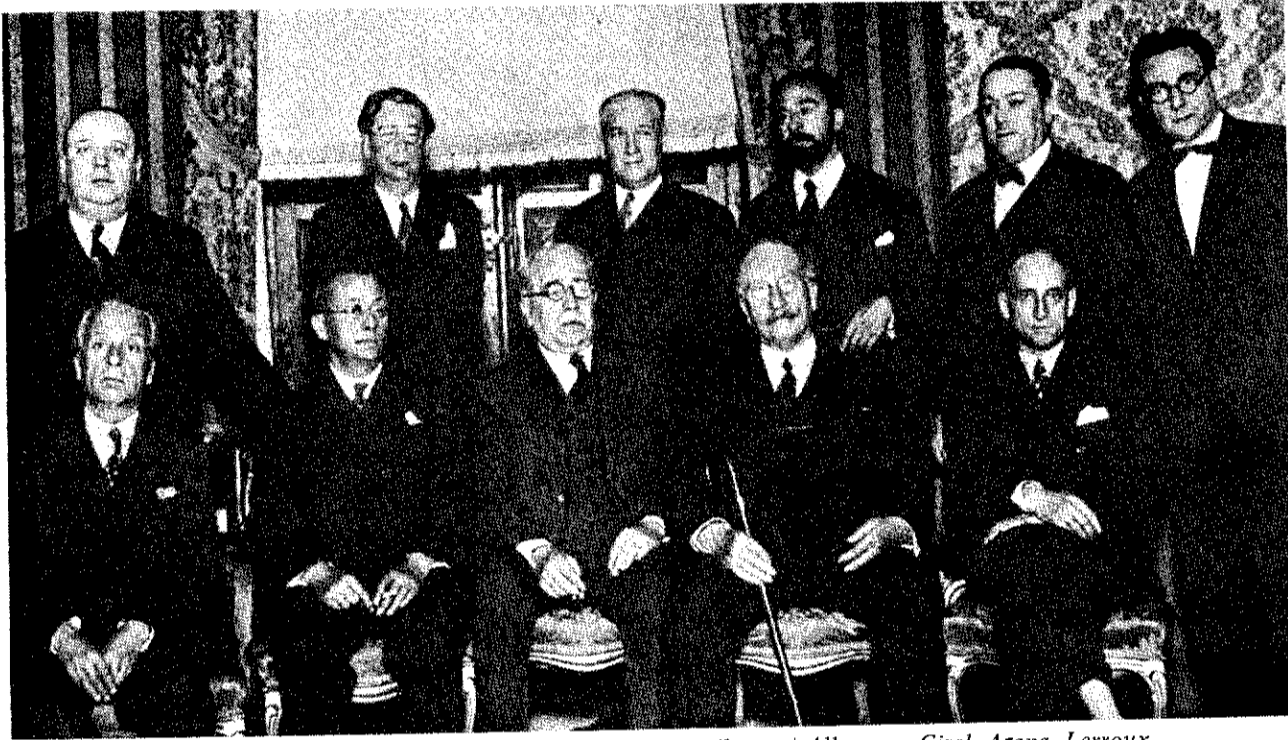


TROTSKYISM TODAY ★

# HOW FASCISTS TOOK STATE POWER: NO4

# POPULAR FRONT ENSURES DEFEAT

PART TWO OF DAVID WHITFIELD'S ARTICLE ON THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR.



Azana with his ministers in the Popular Front government. Front (l. to r.) Albornoz, Giral, Azana, Lerrooux, Casares Quiroga; Behind, Prieto, Marcelino Domingo, Largo Caballero, de los Rios, Martinez Barrio, Nicolau, d'Olwer.

Capitalism in crisis continually sows the seeds of fascism, but specific conditions are required for these to flourish. Weeding out individual parts as they appear above the surface is vital, but not enough; only a revolutionary alternative to the anarchic methods of capitalism can destroy these seeds before they germinate.

By failing to solve the revolutionary tasks posed in Spain, the 1931-33 Republican government contributed directly to the rise of the CEDA, and its electoral triumph in 1933.

Gil Robles, leader of the CEDA, had been deeply impressed by his experience of Hitler's methods and attempted to reproduce these in Spain, by holding mass rallies and imitating the rhetoric of Nazism.

## NOT EQUIPPED

But for all its electoral successes the CEDA was not equipped to develop into a mass fascist party capable of taking power.

Drawing his support mainly from the large landowners and big bourgeoisie, Gil Robles could not put forward a 'radical' programme of social transformation that could effectively mobilise the petty bourgeoisie and lumpenproletariat.

With its extreme right wing politics heavily dependent on monarchism and the most reactionary aspects of catholicism, the CEDA came to seek a parliamentary road to fascism, which was to prove its downfall.

At the same time other small groupings came together on a very different basis. Jose Antonio Primo de Rivera founded the Falange Espanola (Spanish Phalanx) in October 1933, but six months later was driven to unite his organisation



Primo de Rivera

programme modelled closely on that of Mussolini.

Jose Antonio was in fact a paid agent of Mussolini. The new organisation was still very small (3,000 members at the very most), but the youth sections of the Socialist Party recognised its significance and waged a campaign to drive the Falangists off the streets.

Armed skirmishes broke out, but these were only a part of the whole movement of the working class which responded with militant self-defence to the attacks launched by Lerrooux's revolutionary govern-

After the crushing of the Asturian commune of 1934, the second of the 'two black years' of the Spanish Republic was one of intensifying struggle.

Increasingly the government was forced to send the Civil Guard into action against peasants who had expropriated land.

As the state attempted to close down unions and the labour press, workers asserted their strength and independence by forming illegal organisations and publishing illegal papers.

## STRIKES

Capitalists, who sought to resolve their economic crisis by assaults on the proletariat, were confronted with strikes for higher wages and better conditions.

Constantly subjected to these local attacks, the bourgeois state was afflicted with near total paralysis on May Day 1935 as the working class united in a national general strike.

It became clear to sections of the ruling class that parliamentary democracy could no longer serve their interests by even controlling, let alone preventing this movement.

Gil Robles, now Minister of War, made preparations for the inevitable confrontation in the struggle for state power: fortifications were placed round Madrid, arms stockpiled, and the army reorganised (this task was trusted to that loyal servant of the Republic, General Franco).

At the same time he manoeuvred to oust the Radicals and other right wing forces to enable the CEDA to form a government which would establish a corporate state.

## "DEMOCRATIC"

But here he was frustrated. Sections of the bourgeoisie still reckoned that their rule could be maintained by 'democratic' methods, and when governmental

the choice of installing Gil Robles in power or dissolving the Cortes, he opted for elections.

## GERMANY

The 'bienio negro' had not just been a black period for Spanish workers alone. The defeat of the German proletariat with Hitler's rise to power had tipped the international balance of forces against the working class.

Far more important the Soviet leadership had reacted in 1935 by a further switch of international policy adopting the policy of the Popular Front which was to sacrifice millions of workers to fascism in order to preserve the bureaucratic caste in the Kremlin.

The course of the Spanish revolution was to be determined not by the strength of the bourgeoisie and reactionary forces within Spain—not even by the military interventions of Hitler and Mussolini—but by the leadership of the Spanish working class.

In their battle against fascism, the Spanish workers had already shown constant heroism and determination but this spontaneous resistance could not of itself develop a conscious programme necessary for the completion of a revolutionary struggle.

As the strength and power of the working class grew, it became more, not less necessary for a revolutionary leadership to direct that movement.

## PARTY

Five years earlier Trotsky had declared that to solve the tasks created by the Spanish situation 'three conditions are required: a party; once more, a party; again a party!'

The events of 1936 showed with a terrible force that such a party had not been forged.

In calling the February elections, Zamora had been confident that a majority would be returned for the bourgeois parties of the 'centre'. He miscalculated badly.

On the one hand, the parties of the right had come together in a National Front; on the other, the Popular Front had been formed and scored a massive victory.

The Spanish Popular Front was a classic formation of its kind. United not simply to exchange votes, but on the basis of a common programme, Socialists and Stalinists here worked side by side with the Republican left led by Azana, the Catalan separatists of the Esquerra and even the Republican Union, an opportunist split from Lerrooux's Radical Party.

## BOURGEOIS

The programme they adopted was inevitably that of the bourgeois parties: no proposals for limiting the power of the army and the church; rejection of land nationalisation and redistribution; rejection of workers control; rejection of nationalisation of the banks, unemployment benefit and other measures argued by the Socialist Party.

There was not even a hint of action to resolve the colonial question in Morocco, or the question of self-determination for the Catalans and Basques within Spain.

And for this, no different in its policies from those which had failed in 1931-33, the Socialists joined the Popular Front!

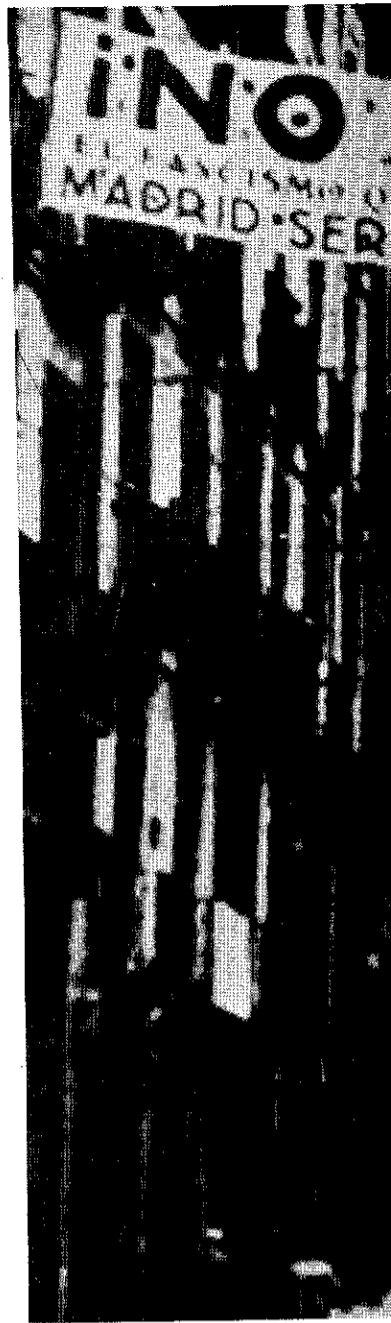
But the political situation was now very different from that of 1931. Despite the most strenuous efforts of their treacherous leaders, the masses of workers and peasants who elected the Popular Front into office did not content themselves with that gesture.

## REPRESSION

Azana's government not only declined to act on the limited reforms of its programme; it also continued aspects of the repression. But in every region of Spain peasants seized land to divide among themselves and workers struck on economic demands.

This movement swelled to reach its first peak in April, when the anarchist CNT, supported by UGT workers, called a general strike in Madrid to protest against fascist attacks.

Azana was now forced to turn to the reformist right wing of the Socialist Party to regain some control of the mass movement. But his attempt to bring Prieto into the



Cabinet was frustrated by the party's leftwing, which declared Madrid that the bourgeoisie could not carry out the democratic tasks of the revolution, and so proletarian revolution was the immediate necessity.

A major struggle developed within the Socialist Party, and the daily took on a greater significance as the strike wave swept on with increasing strength, now throwing up political demands alongside the gathering economic claims.

## REACTION

As the crisis in the Popular Front continued, the forces of reaction prepared their intervention.

The activity of the fascists had increased at a considerable rate. While the failure of its parliamentary strategy had resulted in the collapse of the CEDA, the Falange had grown rapidly, drawing forces from the lumpenproletariat, especially unemployed youth. Membership was now 10,000 (excluding several thousand student supporters) and there were further 15,000 close sympathisers.

Rivera, along with the other leaders, had been imprisoned within the Falange was outlawed in March and now the group had developed rapidly into an anti-Republican terrorist force, beyond his personal control.

At the same time, Jose Antonio had been in contact with the army officers who were plotting the coup in which the Falange was to play a significant but complex part.

On July 17, the army revolt broke out in Morocco and in garrisons throughout Spain; Civil War had begun.





'They Shall Not Pass!' The famous slogan displayed in Madrid.

At every turn, Franco was able to advance only because the policies followed by the Popular Front had paved the way for him.

The initial organization of the uprising was possible because the Popular Front had refused to reform the army.

Franco's military advance across Spain could be made because the peasants fed the ranks of his army—the peasants whom the Popular Front had refused to feed.

Azana's government had prepared the conditions for this attack on the Republic by its grotesquely inadequate policies; but the government was not at all prepared to change its policies in the fight to defend the Republic.

The Republicans first tried to suppress all news of the uprising; their main initiative was to attempt craven negotiations with its leaders, who rebuffed them.

### ARMS SEIZED

In defiance of this further treachery, the workers broke into the arsenals to arm themselves, attacked the garrisons and entered into long, drawn-out struggle with the enemies outside the Republic, and the traitors within it.

In pace with the counter-revolution outside, a situation of dual power rapidly emerged internally.

It was in Catalonia that this revolutionary situation developed to its highest level, under the leadership of the CNT and the POUM (Partido Obrero de Unificación Marxista—Workers' Party of Marxist Unification).

The POUM had been formed in September 1935 as a fusion of the Workers and Peasants Bloc with former forces of the International Left Opposition in Spain which had abandoned the call to build the Fourth International and followed Andreas Nin and Andrade in dissolving their political principles within this centrist group.

Ten months later the POUM broke from its support for the Popular Front and joined with the anarchists in recognizing that the civil war had to be fought by political as well as military methods—a thoroughly revolutionary counter-offensive had to be launched.

### MILITIAS

Factories were brought under workers' control, land seized by the peasants, militias formed; all under the leadership of the 'Central Committee of Anti-fascist Militias of

Catalonia'.

Here all the workers' organizations united to co-ordinate the activity of the factory committees and other organs of workers' control, directing them in the war against Franco's army.

### LAND REDISTRIBUTED

Nor did the workers confine the revolution to Catalonia. Militias marched into Aragon as an army of social liberation: here too the land was redistributed to the peasants, and collectives established to control all aspects of social life. The peasants of Aragon were won to the side of the revolutionary proletariat.

But although the anarchists and the POUM acted at this stage as if they understood the theory of 'permanent revolution, they were soon to show themselves inadequate to the tasks of revolutionary leadership.

In September 1936 the Popular Front government was re-formed, and the leader of the left Socialists, Largo Caballero, entered as Prime Minister.

Caballero declared: 'This government was constituted—all those forming it previously renouncing the defence of our principles and particular tendencies—in order to remain united on one sole aspiration: to defend Spain in her struggle against fascism.'

What this declaration really signified was that the left Socialists had abandoned their principles—in order to support the principle of the bourgeois parties: the defence of private property against the demands of the working class.



Bishops bless the Fascists' cause.

At the same time, the POUM and CNT entered the government of Catalonia. Precisely at the point where it was necessary to break from the bourgeois state, to develop the embryonic forms of workers' control into soviets and organize them nationally into a workers' government to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat, at this point the anarchists and centrists turned their backs on the socialist revolution and followed Caballero into class collaboration.

By this act they virtually ensured the defeat of the Spanish Revolution. For the entry of the workers' parties into the government did nothing to transform the bourgeois character of the Popular Front.

### COMPROMISED

On the contrary: while the left Socialists, anarchists and POUM compromised their principles, their participation in the government enabled the bourgeoisie to regain control over the mass movement.

In this task it was consciously and ruthlessly assisted by the Stalinists.

The Spanish Communist Party was guided by the Soviet bureaucracy's requirement that the international 'status quo' be preserved.

This meant no social revolution in Spain. The CP's contribution to the Republican cause was based entirely on a desire to re-establish stable bourgeois rule, as it frequently declared:

**"It is absolutely false that the present workers' movement has for its object the establishment of a proletarian dictatorship, after the war has terminated. . . . We are motivated exclusively by a desire to defend the democratic republic."**

The CP had grown rapidly in size since the outbreak of civil war but it drew its recruits—particularly in Catalonia—from layers of the petty bourgeoisie terrified by the movement of the working class.

### COLLAPSE

With the flight of the big bourgeoisie and the collapse of support for the 'left' Republicans, the CP functioned increasingly as the main agent of the bourgeoisie within the Republic.

It was to prove a very efficient henchman. The Stalinists were the first to demand the ending of the

workers' militias; the outlawing of the POUM; the restoration of all expropriated property.

In Catalonia and Aragon, the CP moved to oust the anarchists and POUM from the leadership of the workers and peasants—not to assert their own leadership, but to re-establish bourgeois rule.

### STALINISTS

In May 1937 the forces of the central government supported the Stalinists in their attempt to wrest control of Barcelona from the CNT and POUM militias.

Barricades were thrown up and mass resistance developed, but the anarchist and centrist leaders argued that the workers should cooperate with the Popular Front forces.

With this betrayal it was certain that whichever camp—Loyalist or Republican—should win the military war, counter-revolution would triumph in Spain, either as fascism or as a restoration of the bourgeois rule of the Popular Front supported by reformism and international Stalinism.

Barcelona was subdued; the POUM outlawed, its militants massacred along with the CNT's.

To detail the betrayals and crimes committed by the leaders of the Spanish working class parties in the name of 'democracy' would occupy many issues of *Socialist Press*.

The pattern had been established and was relentlessly imposed.

While Franco's armies advanced, the government of the Popular Front systematically destroyed the basis of any resistance to fascism.

### MORE TERRIFYING

The forward movement of the masses presented it with a far more terrifying threat than Franco's progress.

In the areas occupied by the 'Loyalist' forces, repression was unleashed: mass murders and

imprisonment, torture and persecution. The elements which flocked to join the CP in the Republican zone, here rushed to the Falange.

But it was not the Falange which seized power. Jose Antonio and many of its leaders had been executed by the Republic; the others were in Franco's entourage, where the Generalissimo played them off against the monarchists and other extreme reactionaries who tumbled in his wake.

Franco took over the rhetoric of the Falange, adopted some of its trappings, but the party itself he purged so that it formed no threat to his personal power.

It was not in a fascist party that he found his mass base, but in the peasantry which filled the Loyalist armies to overthrow the Republic that had given them nothing but empty promises.

### BALANCE

To establish his dictatorship, Franco needed to balance various forces against each other so that he could rise above them; the Falange took its place here along with the army, the church, the major capitalists and large landowners.

When the Republic had been finally crushed in March 1939, the corporate state was imposed on the Spanish working class in the Falangist form—with 'vertical' syndicates, as opposed to class-based 'horizontal' syndicates—and Jose Antonio was hailed as a martyr.

But the triumph of fascism owed little to his work.

The responsibility for that victory rests with the leaders of the Spanish workers' movement and above all with the Stalinists. As Trotsky remarked with bitter irony:

**"The work of the Moscow executioners confirms in its own way the correctness of the theory of permanent revolution."**

### CONCLUDED.



People's Army on the way to the front.



Republican refugees head for France.

# ART TO EXPOSE FASCISM

John Heartfield, whose works were produced and posted up all over Germany, remains virtually unknown in this country. The few studies that have been devoted to him, (notably by Tretyakov and John Berger) are now out of print and his name appears only as a footnote in most popular "History of Art" books.

This forced exclusion by the art "experts" would have come as no surprise to Heartfield who shunned the exhibition halls and devoted his energies to deriding the ruling class, army officers and the church while arousing the German workers to the fascist danger.

He would have been totally dissatisfied with any of his constructions if they hadn't been a product of the violence, cruelty and degraded sexuality he saw all around him.

The retrospective of his work on show at the ICA in London till the 15 September is therefore a welcome and timely attempt to acquaint people with a portion of his enormous output.

Born in 1891, Heartfield soon showed himself to be a talented and unconventional artist. The Dada movement which had sprung up in Zurich in 1916 found fertile ground in Berlin where, disillusioned by formal art education in Munich, Heartfield settled after the war.

Although nihilist and simply content to poke fun at bourgeois culture, Dada art did begin to assume a political role during the German revolution, having turned to the Soviet Union for ideological direction and to discover there new artistic forms that had blossomed out of the October Revolution.



This period had a decisive influence on both the form and content of Heartfield's work: he adopted more realistic styles and consciously focused on social and political events. To these ends he developed the technique of photomontage: aggressive creations of composite pictures from several photographs.

By juxtaposing seemingly unrelated images he was able, as Max Ernst said, "to make the object represented play the role of a word".

The photomontages he produced were destined for mass circulation and, having joined the German Communist Party (KPD) in 1918, they were often used as front covers of the Party's journals.

In his "Adolph the Superman" series, the photomontages force us to see the lessons of the war, later to be forgotten, as if they were all over again.

A Review of an exhibition of work by John Heartfield, on show at the Institute of Contemporary Arts, London, until September 15.



"Adolph the Superman Swallows Gold and Spouts Junk"

April 1932, Heartfield's purpose is crystal clear.

He not only shows Hitler's rhetoric as feeding on the interests of capital but, by portraying him as puny shouldered and bird-like shatters the edifice the fascists had built up around the cult of his personality and his superhuman powers.

This work was, like all the others, so carefully and patiently built that the parts still retain their original, real appearance yet when viewed in situ illustrate not objects but forces and symbols.

By transposing popular fascist slogans in this way he was able to demystify and expose them.

His "Millions Stand Behind Me"—one of his most famous creations—uses photomontage at its most effective.

## BANKER

The "Millions" no longer signify people but bank notes, the people are transformed into one obese bourgeois banker who stands not "behind" but above Hitler, and the fascist salute becomes no more than a begging hand.

To spend an hour in this exhibition is to relive the years of the collapse of the Weimar Republic and to witness the rise of fascism and the defeat of the Spanish Republicans.

But anchored in history though it is, the photomontages force us to see the lessons of the war, later to be forgotten, as if they were all over again.

# PURE MILITANCY IS NOT ENOUGH

A review of 'The Case Against the Social Contract' by the Group of Independent Socialists

This pamphlet was produced by a group of ex-members of the International Socialists who resigned because they saw in the 'Right to Work' and election campaigns gimmicks replacing steady trade union work and the building of the rank and file groups.

It is not surprising, therefore,

that the pamphlet reflects the syndicalist notions which dominate the IS, (now the SWP).

The style of the pamphlet however, is appealing. The authors attempt to answer everyday questions that workers are likely to ask those militants who lead pay struggles. What is the relationship of wages to inflation? Don't wage controls help the low paid? What about price controls? Don't we need to make sacrifices for the economy?—and a host of others.

There is a mass of interesting and useful facts about wages, prices, profits and cuts.

In general however, the pamphlet fails to give a lead on the way forward or even a serious analysis of the crisis.

Despite reference to 'investment difficulties' the pamphlet repeats the traditional IS "nasty employer" argument. The crisis is laid at the door of those who prefer to drink champagne rather than invest wisely.

## INFLATION

The absence of a Marxist analysis of the crisis of capitalism shows itself most clearly in the section on inflation.

"In a moment of rare honesty in 1970, even the Tories admitted the truth. Britain faces the worst inflation for 20 years. This is mostly the result of tax increases and devaluation."

What the authors fail to show is that any attempt by the government to restore profitability to British capitalism is simply a reaction to the crisis. And while government measures inevitably exacerbate the crisis (for nothing short of the total defeat of the working class could restore a temporary equilibrium) they must never be mistaken for its cause.

Those like the Group of Independent Socialists (GIS) who go to great lengths to point to ruling class mismanagement as the origins of unemployment, inflation and declining living standards come close to merely arguing for 'benevolent' capitalism.

Whilst devoting a page to the causes of British inflation (devaluation, the Common Market, other government policy), world inflation is seen as the result of 'complicated reasons'.

## DEEPER

The GIS will need to go a lot deeper than this if they want to drive reformism out of the workers movement!

It must be made clear that the tendency for the rate of profit to fall is a fundamental contradiction of capitalist production. It is generated by the very process of the accumulation of capital.

In this way we can locate the cause of the crisis in the anarchic capitalist system itself. The essential demands for workers to organise around can then be shown to be those which point to nationalisation and workers control of production and planning.

The GIS shopping list of forms of opposition to attacks on wages and conditions can, we are told, 'defend our existing living standards'—but in the absence of any organs of workers' control this is clearly impossible.

Correctly exposing the fraud of government price controls, the GIS project simply a trade union response.

## DIRECT ACTION

"Direct action over rents, fares and fuel bills can get results. But the only real defence against price rises is wage rises. All else is illusion".

The correct demand is for a sliding scale of wages linked to the unemployment of any community.

introduce the important element of workers control which will point the way to an independent working class solution to the crisis.

The general political weakness illustrated here is repeated throughout the pamphlet's list of demands in the section 'What happens now?'. On unemployment, the cuts and prices the only answer offered is militant direct action.

## PROGRAMME

Workers looking for a way to fight sackings, stop cuts and increase wages should look to the Trotskyist Transitional Programme, which offers an independent class struggle programme and a strategy for winning socialism through workers control.

In the section "If the Social Contract is so bad why was it agreed?", the GIS points to the growing incorporation of the trade union leadership into the government and the increase in its policing role.

However, in not pointing out the way in which votes for the Social Contract were bureaucratically forced through the trade unions the GIS comes dangerously near blaming the working class for its acceptance.

The central task facing the working class is the construction of a conscious leadership—a revolutionary party.

The GIS do not address themselves to this problem and simply say that their policies 'can help to build a movement towards a society which doesn't depend on wrecking our standard of living'.

We have reviewed this pamphlet (sales of which are now reported to be at the 4,000 mark) because we think the ideas within it need to be combatted.

## SHARP

If the GIS comrades are to go forward towards the correct Trotskyist programme then the points of difference with them must be sharply argued.

Otherwise Trotskyists are saying that their own theory and programme are optional extras.

The first issue of *Socialist Challenge* reviewed this pamphlet and made much of its wages policy. Here is what Will Reese wrote:

"The pamphlet's proposal that wage agreements should be opened and re-opened if prices keep rising comes very close to the call for automatic wage rises for every rise in the cost of living. This is an important step forward from the syndicalist position which sees this demand as a threat to the militancy of the working class."

## NOT MUCH DIFFERENT

If there has been a step forward—and the formulation in the pamphlet is, in fact, not significantly different from that sometimes used by IS—the fact that there is no demand for inflation to be assessed by workers and housewives price committees is a considerable weakness.

The pamphlet as a whole is in fact completely devoid of any concept of transitional demands and workers' control. Trotskyists must insist on these demands and be absolutely precise on the nature of the sliding scale demands if any political development is to be made with new forces such as these.

Copies of the pamphlet are obtainable, at 10p each plus postage, from:

31, Gresham Road, Coventry  
217, Wavertree Rd, Liverpool 7

By Keith White

and Jo Woodward



# TWO SHOTS FROM SEED OF STALINISM

Introducing the new Draft of the 'British Road to Socialism', Communist Party General Secretary Gordon MacLennan found himself picking around to try and show a line of historical continuity:

"Harry Pollitt, in his book *Looking Ahead*, written in 1947, and published by the Communist Party, already put forward many of the ideas on which our policy and programme is based in the chapter of that book 'The British Road to Socialism'."

Of course MacLennan was careful to omit any details of the book he quotes from. It is now predictably unobtainable from the Communist Party.

It went the same way as any other outdated pamphlets: all CP offices were circulated and asked to send in all old pamphlets and books, because they were "needed for a museum in Russia". In this way embarrassing evidence was destroyed.

One quotation from Pollitt's pamphlet shows why:

"All emigration should be stopped for three years until we are through the crisis. I ask you, does it make sense that we allow 500,000 of our best young people to put their names down for emigration abroad when at the same time we employ Poles, who ought to back in their own country, and bring to work in Britain displaced persons who ought also to be sent back to their own countries? We want our own workers to have confidence in their own land, to take a pride in building it up".

This example shows that we simply cannot take at face value what the Communist Parties or sections split from the Communist Parties say about themselves today. Nor can we assess simply their policies which are often no more than momentary expedients.

To understand these Stalinist parties and their political role we have to grasp that they are the product of a historical process of development. Differences that emerge today have their roots in the past.

If we are to understand them scientifically, we must start from real developments - not combing statements by this or that faction for quotes to "prove" our own impressions, or divorcing such statements from the practice of the Stalinists themselves.

Needless to say the Communist Parties have consciously tried to prevent their members doing this. But other left wing tendencies, reacting to impressions, have unconsciously fallen into the same position on this as the CPs.

First of all it is essential to establish the roots of Stalinism as a counter-revolutionary political current in the workers movement.

## COMINTERN

The revolutionary overthrow of capitalism in Russia was led on the basis of Lenin's opposition to the treacherous positions taken by leaders of the Second (Social Democratic) International.

These parties (today including the British Labour Party) declared their position openly at the start of World War I when each party declared in support of their own capitalist class. Thus German, French and British Social Democrats found themselves at war with each other, each claiming that workers in their own countries had some common interest with their "own" capitalist class.

It was parties and groupings that opposed this line, and that were in favour of the defeat of their "own" capitalist class that Lenin and the Bolsheviks brought together in 1919 to form the Third (Communist) International, the Comintern.

The first four congresses of the Comintern, under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky fought both to break the isolation of the Russian Revolution and to give firm

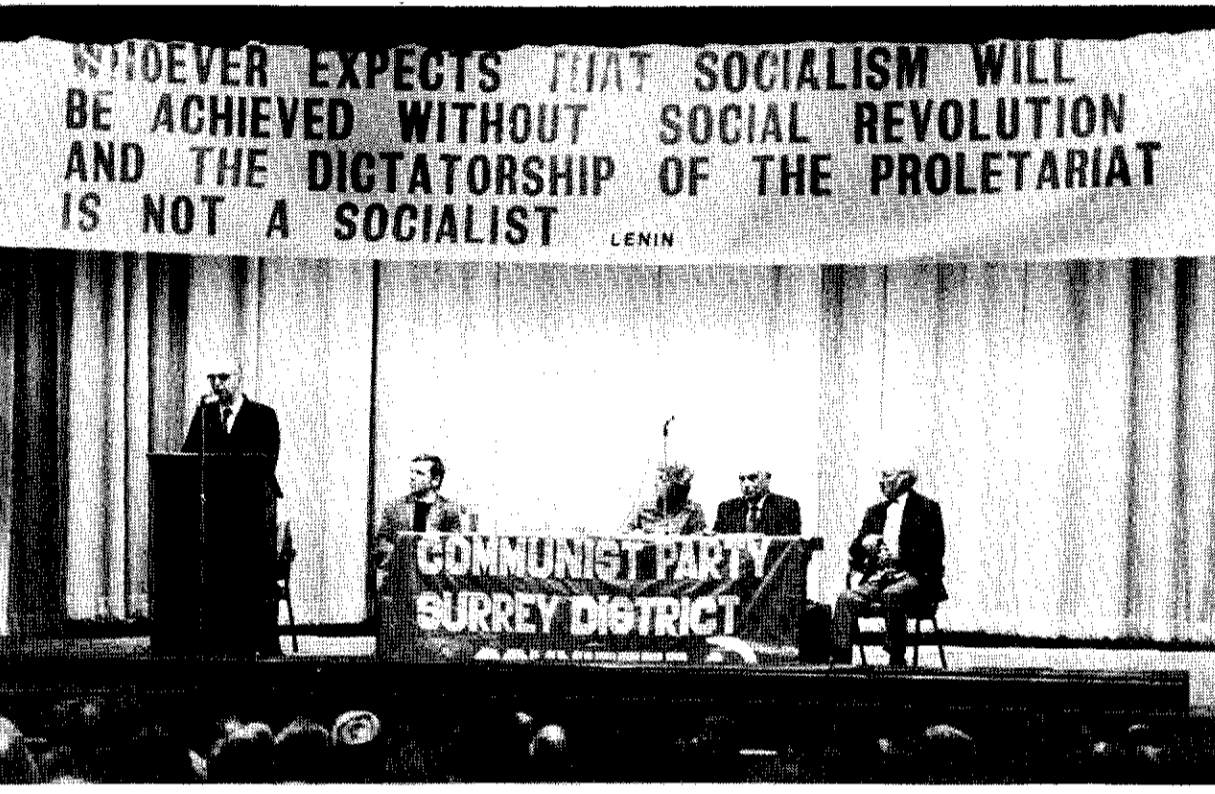


PHOTO: John Sturrock, Report

A meeting this June held by the Frenchite opposition before their decision to leave the Communist Party.

world revolution and construct revolutionary parties in all countries.

## NOT COMPLETED

"We are far from having completed even the transitional period from capitalism to socialism. We have never cherished the hope that we could finish it without the aid of the international proletariat. We have never had any illusions on that score . . . The final victory of socialism in a single country is of course impossible". (Lenin, January 1918).

But the revolution did not spread except to Hungary—where it was defeated. This was because no other leadership party comparable to the Bolshevik Party under Lenin had been built.

The clearest example of this leadership crisis was Germany which again and again proved the key to extending the October Revolution.

Chances were missed in 1918 and 1919. But in 1920 and 1921 inexperienced leaders overestimated the situation. The Comintern fought to turn the new Communist Party away from putsches to careful work to break the masses from Social Democracy through the tactics of the United Front.

But no revolution took place in Germany and Russia's isolation continued.

## NATIONALISM

This isolation strengthened conservative, nationalist tendencies in Russia based on the backwardness of the country, the small size of the working class relative to the peasantry, the devastation wreaked by the civil war fuelled by imperialism which followed the revolution (described by Trotsky as "surpassing anything seen by history"), and the small size of the Bolshevik Party, which had to stand in the forefront of the civil war and lost many of its best forces, as well as furnishing organisers in both countryside and in the towns.

In these conditions tendencies to

the poverty of society in objects of consumption, with the resulting struggle of each against all. When there is enough goods in a store, the purchasers can come whenever they want to. When there is little goods, the purchasers are compelled to stand in line. When the lines are very long, it is necessary to appoint a policeman to keep order. Such is the starting point of the power of the Soviet bureaucracy. It "knows" who is to get something and who has to wait". (Trotsky *Revolution Betrayed* p12)

Both Lenin and Trotsky always realised this danger. They knew it was easier to lead a revolution in Russia but harder to defend it because of the low level of the productive forces.

For this reason they insisted on the impossibility of constructing socialism in Russia alone, and the necessity for socialist revolution in an industrialised country like Germany.

## N.E.P.

When peasants in Russia began grain strikes and the destruction of food as measures to oppose the policy of 'War Communism' - whereby food had been requisitioned with little given in return while the Civil War was in progress - the Bolsheviks were forced to introduce the New Economic Policy.

This allowed small scale capitalism to re-emerge in the countryside in order to persuade the peasants to produce. It was of course a necessary step backwards, and it had the result of prompting the growth of a layer of rich peasants ('Kulaks') in the countryside - a force hostile to socialism.

It was in this period that conservative and nationalist tendencies began to consolidate into a bureaucratic caste within the workers state, which from 1922 emerged into the open and was fought by both Lenin and Trotsky.

At first based on the conflict in interest between the industrial development in the towns and the

THE FIRST PART OF A THREE-PART SERIES ON THE ISSUES UNDERLYING THE RECENT SPLIT IN THE BRITISH COMMUNIST PARTY.

By Tony Richardson.

## SIMILARITY

There was similarity between Lenin's approach to the problem of bureaucracy in *Better But Better*—a booklet 1922 initially suppressed by Stalin—and Trotsky's approach in *New Course* written in 1924.

After Lenin's death it fell to Trotsky to carry through this fight. Stalin joined at first with Kamenev and Zinoviev against Trotsky, and this triumvirate ensured that Lenin's Testament was suppressed.

They adapted to Trotsky, passing his 'New Course' resolution in December 1923—in spite of the need for inner-party democracy—but then refusing to implement it.

Stalin, now the foremost representative of the forces of conservatism and nationalism, rested upon material forces too strong for Trotsky and his supporters to defeat.

Already in 1923 this bureaucracy had helped the defeat of a possible revolution in Germany which Stalin commented:

"In my opinion the German revolution must be curbed and not spurred on."

## INTERNATIONAL POLICY

It was in 1924 that Stalin formulated his conservative view on an international policy. He changed a section of his book *Foundations of Leninism* to reverse a former statement.

Instead of saying that it was "impossible" to achieve socialism in one country, the wording changed to say that it was possible. Such a "theory" flowed not from ideas in Stalin's mind, but from the response of the bureaucracy to material problems of the Soviet Union.

This "theory" was then central to the work of the Comintern. All those who opposed Stalin's view that their sole task was to assist the building of "socialism in the Soviet Union" were expelled or removed.

Trotsky fought this "theory", and fought its political implications. Though sceptics too argue that Trotsky was poor manoeuvring against Stalin, to fail to see that Trotsky's objective was to change the leadership within Russia and in Comintern.

## LEFT OPPOSITION

This was why Trotsky chose to deny, for tactical reasons, the existence of Lenin's Testament—so that he could stay within the CPSU and develop the basis for Left Opposition to Stalin.

And the main manifestation of the bureaucracy's policies fought by Trotsky was the concept 'Socialism in One Country'.

It was this position which brought the Stalinists to transfer the Comintern parties into mass pressure groups agitating for requirements of the Soviet bureaucracy within each capitalist country.

And such policies could only lead to a turn away from the crucial fight for an independent revolutionary leadership for the working class.

They led for example in Britain in 1926 to the failure of the British Communist Party to put forward any independent policy in the General Strike. Instead their slogan was "All Power to the TUC" even as the sell-out took place.

When we come today to examine the 1977 split in the British Communist Party it must be remembered that both factions of the Communist Party bear all the political hallmarks of this early history.

Neither wing contests or considered contesting Stalin's reactionary "theory" of 'socialism in one country'.

And neither wing gave or would give now the slightest support

## LENIN'S TESTAMENT

It was at the end of 1922 and early 1923 that Lenin wrote what is known as his Testament, in which he said:

"Stalin is too rude, and this defect, although quite tolerable in our midst and in dealings among us Communists, becomes intolerable in a General Secretary. That is why I suggest that the comrades think about a way of removing Stalin from that post . . ."

Of course rudeness was the trait of the bureaucrat, and in 1923 Lenin broke relations with Stalin over his treatment of Krupskaya, Lenin's wife.

## GEORGIA AFFAIR

At the same time a leading Georgian Communist who objected to the bureaucratic and chauvinist

# INDUSTRIAL NEWS

## RESTORE MASS PICKET; BLACK GRUNWICK!



Since the sell-outs of "Black Friday" July 29, on which the trade union bureaucracy set out to defuse the situation by sabotaging the blacking of mail and calling off the August 8 mass picket, there has been a strengthening of the political independence of the Grunwick strikers from their own bureaucracies.

This is exemplified in the reorganisation of the APEX/TGWU strike committee around more militant members on Friday 5, and in tightening up the picketing arrangements.

The Cricklewood postmen, too, have shown their independence by unanimously rejecting the threats of UPW Deputy General Secretary Norman Stagg to withhold hardship fund money if they refused to sign the document implicitly binding them to handle Grunwick mail.

Any illusions that full time officials like TGWU London Regional Secretary Ron Todd would win this dispute have been rudely shattered.

A mere 24 hours after the Region 1 Committee responded to a lobby and endorsed demands

from Grunwick TGWU drivers for support on the August 8 mass picket, the Committee changed their decision.

Todd then circulated every TGWU branch in London telling them to stay away on that day.

The TGWU drivers have learned over the last two weeks that the only way to win this strike is to carry on an independent fight in the union for support on the picket and the implementation by the trade union movement of national blacking on supplies and services to Grunwicks.

The drivers have responded this week by addressing meetings of trade unionists for support on their own initiative.

The question of principled leadership is central at this point.

A clear policy must be taken by the strike committee to the SE TUC and TGWU Region 1 meeting on August 23.

This must condemn the intimidation of strikers by both Grantham and Stagg and demand the repudiation of Todd's sell out.

It must demand a full restoration of the mass picketing from August 22 onwards and the full immediate implementation of TUC policy for total blacking of Grunwicks supplies and services.

# STALINIST BOSS DEFEATED

Women workers at Forward Trading Co., Coventry, who went on strike and kept up a picket every day for a week to ensure the factory remained closed, won agreement from the managing director, Surinder Singh on their demands for trade union recognition, reinstatement of redundant workers, accurate records of working hours and improved holidays.

The managing director resigned from the Communist Party of Great Britain after the secretary of the Coventry branch, Tony McNally said:

"We have no hesitation in declaring that the actions he is pursuing are inconsistent with membership of the Communist Party. We do not debar people from becoming members of this party because they have got a business [!]. But we would demand that they carry out the basics of trade union recognition."

The fact that the women could show pay slips for 42 hours piecework of between £8 and £18, and that the hourly rate was 45p, went unchallenged by the Communist Party until the women's strike action closed the factory down.

Surinder Singh said of his workers:

"They should be really grateful for those who created the jobs for

them."

18 of the women joined the TGWU last November. Surinder Singh refused to recognise the union or negotiate with it. On July 15 he made 6 workers redundant and the rest of the workers struck in support.

Although the strike resulted in a victory for the workers, Surinder Singh has announced plans to move to smaller premises and, he said, redundancies were inevitable.

A similar strike at Leofric Shirt Company, also in Coventry, began on 10 August when 20 women struck after 9 workers had been made redundant.

The women say that management have victimised active union members in the factory since they joined the TGWU 2 months ago. They are paid 50p an hour for a 40 hour week.

These disputes are only the tip of the iceberg as far as clothing manufacture in the area goes.

It is relatively easy for the sewing and pressing machines to be moved to new premises and for owners to set up with new non-union labour.

TGWU members must argue for a union recruitment campaign to seek out these sweatshops and to lead a fight for organisation, trade union rates and improved conditions.



Lucas picket at Wolverhampton

## DESOUTTERS STRIKE

### AUEW MUST ACT

the strikers was clear at a recent meeting.

When convenor Jim Black called for a district levy to support the strikers Brother G. Anthony in the chair launched a vicious attack on this call.

When challenged after the meeting about what the strikers should do about money he said:

"You will just have to stick it out".

One striker commented:

"If we are fighting to get the AUEW recognised inside Desoutters and this is all the support the AUEW leadership can offer us, it is about time we kicked out these leaders who refuse to put up a fight for union recognition."

Even when a delegate from Chiswick Works protested that his branch had called for a levy, Anthony wouldn't put it to the vote and closed the meeting.

The same attitude was witnessed on the lobby of the Executive.

Scanlon's arrogance and his contempt for the members who pay his wages was clear to the strikers when a delegation attempted to lobby him before an EC meeting.

#### BLACKING

He refused to allow a striker into the meeting to put their case and would not commit himself to any of the demands about blacking and finance.

Strikers went to the Grunwick mass picket on August 8 and appealed for support and donations. The enthusiastic response yielded £120.50 and promises of blacking from factories all round the country many of which were unaware of the Desoutter strike.

The strikers are determined to fight on for full union recognition. At the time of going to press the management has stated that all workers "could be union members if they wished" but that negotiations and decisions would be

carried out by the tame works committee and the union could not organise nor represent members. This is clearly unacceptable.

The fight must be taken back into the AUEW and this hierarchy either forced to defend the right to organise or be kicked out.

Don't let the Desoutters strike be overshadowed by the Grunwick dispute. Cash and cheques should be rushed to Barry Marony, 27, Springfield Mount, Kingsbury, London NW9.

All supporters should take part in the mass picket every Thursday.

### AUEW: VOTE WILKINS

Only four candidates have submitted election addresses in the coming election for the Presidency of the AUEW.

The right wing candidate is Terry Duffy; the Broad Left candidate is Bob Wright (who has supported all the right wing actions of the Executive); and SWP candidate Ian Morris has submitted a reformist programme of a 35-hour week and opposition to the Social Contract on a programme very little different from those the Broad Left used to have.

Only WRP candidate Alan Wilkins has a programme which includes a "sliding scale of working hours" and "threshold rises".

Whilst we have differences with the WRP and the way the programme is presented, we call on our supporters to vote for Wilkins.

## Lucas Strikers Stand Firm

### 2-MONTH LOCKOUT ENDED

The Lucas toolroom bonus dispute, now in its seventh week, is affecting Leyland factories throughout the West Midlands.

As we go to press, workers on the Princess and Marina tracks in Cowley, and at MG in Abingdon have been laid off.

As Lucas is a major supplier of electrical components the whole car industry is threatened with shutdown.

More lay-offs are certain. Leyland, however, have managed to resume production on the Marina but only by flying in components from other countries, including as far away as Australia.

All Lucas management have come up with so far is the derisory offer of 49p on top of the existing bonus.

They have made an alternative offer to scrap the present bonus scheme and, in its place, establish a new bonus system whose details they are not prepared to reveal. This would gain an extra £1 per week.

These offers have been rejected and the dispute remains solid.

But it is essential for the toolroom workers to demand the AUEW fight throughout the motor industry unions for a black on all imported and home produced substitute components aimed at breaking the strike.

800 AUEW members at Lucas Aerospace, Wolverhampton, have been persuaded by shop stewards and full time officials to accept a formula to return to work this Monday after a 2-month lock-out.

The formula included further talks on a revised bonus scheme.

In the meantime guaranteed bonuses will be paid, and in one month workers will receive £40 as "compensation" for their period locked out.

Clearly management have given virtually nothing away, and workers were not taken in by the bluster of AUEW Divisional Organiser Bill Jordan.

Workers know only too well that the company has already warned it may decide to shut down the factory for good—with the loss of all 1,700 jobs.

With this threat over their heads they know also that their union leaders at plant and district level have done nothing to prepare for a fight against such a move, should the company decide simply to use the next month to complete work in hand and then announce closure.

A campaign must be launched to make Lucas open their books to an elected trade union committee so their plans can be revealed and defensive action prepared.

# NEW LEYLAND BID FOR CORPORATE BARGAINING

Since 1967 the central plank of British Leyland management policy has been to abolish the right of workers in individual plants to bargain for wages and to introduce corporation wide negotiations.

In this way they have sought to strengthen the hand of management and increase the influence of the national officers of the trade unions.

The obstacle to their aspiration has been the shop stewards' movement and this proved difficult to overcome.

The implementation of the Ryder Report brought a new situation. Not only did it recommend corporate bargaining—but it tackled the question of the shop stewards movement.

## SOFTENED

Joint Management Participation Committees were set up which softened many of the shop stewards and sucked them closer to management.

On the Combine Committee, Communist Party member and committee chairman Derek Robinson began to advocate a move away from plant bargaining.

The essential groundwork was prepared. All British Leyland now wanted was the right opportunity for a new initiative. Such an opportunity began with the month long toolroom strike in February/March of this year.

The strength of the toolroom strike was the threat it posed to Stage 2 of the Social Contract since its demands could not be settled with wage controls in force.

Its weakness was its demand of parity which must lead inevitably to a corporate structure and nationally negotiated wages.

## APPOINTED

To compound this inherent danger to Leyland workers, the sell-out settlement of the strike involved the setting up of a "joint working party" to look at the wages structure throughout Leyland cars.

Leyland had the chance they wanted. They could now develop the reactionary side of the toolroom strike and turn it into a full scale attack on Leyland workers.

The working party was not elected, but appointed by national officers. The qualifications—to be right wing and pro-management.

At its first meeting the management spelled out what they wanted—corporate bargaining. This the 'trade union' side rejected, saying they would prepare proposals of their own.

The proposals they drew up were as follows:

1. Phased programme over two years to achieve bargaining reforms outlined in the Ryder Report.

2. The principle of parity in all grades in British Leyland Cars to be achieved no later than November 1979.

3. Staff conditions to be implemented by November 1978.

4. The introduction of incentive schemes, negotiated and mutually agreed at plant level."

If they had been acting openly for management they could not have done better. Taken together these four 'objectives' contain all the main elements of British Leyland management policy.

Point 1 means corporate bargaining.

Point 2 is simply corporate bargaining by another name.

Point 3 is what management have been trying to get accepted for the past year.

Point 4 is speed-up.

It was no surprise therefore that the company representative responded to this opportunity. Their response was to produce a new document taking into account these four 'objectives'.

PHOTO: John Sturrock, Report



Robinson

Firstly they said they would accept the 'principle' of parity of rates, and pointed out that the clear logic of this was corporate bargaining.

They proposed that rates would equalise over a two year period, but since they had no money to pay for this the exercise would have to be "self-financing".

Parity money would be paid to those on the lower rates in six monthly increments—but only providing productivity criteria had been met in the preceding six months. If not, no money.

Secondly, on the staff conditions objective they were even more blatant, simply attaching to the package the 'fringe benefit' document rejected by an overwhelming vote of Leyland workers in January of this year.

The document was rejected by mass meetings (although recommended by the convenors) because it contained a series of penalty clauses aimed at re-establishing management dictatorship on the shop floor.

Finally on "incentives" the story was the same. Again the scheme was labelled "self-financing".

## SPEED UP

The reality of the scheme was even worse. The speed-up involved, coupled with the penalty clauses contained in it, would massively worsen working conditions and reduce manning levels.

Taken together these proposals represent an all out attack on the wages and working conditions of Leyland workers.

It is clear that they emanate not simply from British Leyland management but, through Industry Secretary Eric Varley—from the government itself.

The working party was split on the proposals. Neither side of the split however, were interested in defending the workforce against them.

The split was over variations on the corporate bargaining theme.

## RIGHTWARD SWING

Alternative proposals were made which would protect the individual interests or personal power base of the various convenors involved.

Management however would have none of it, and on August 4 the working party called a full meeting of convenors to consider the offer.

Amazingly the meeting almost accepted the proposals—a tribute to the rightward swing of the convenors since 'participation'.

Voting showed a small majority against the document and then a small majority in favour of continuing negotiations on it.

Disaster for Leyland workers almost came with a third motion from the Rover shop stewards



PHOTO: John Sturrock, Report

Fraser

(supported by the Militant Group and International Marxist Group members in Rover).

This motion called for full scale corporate bargaining—but gave it a left face. It called for corporate bargaining and a £15 a week wage claim and a cost of living clause.

The left face had a marked effect and it was defeated by an even smaller margin 95-87.

If the Rover motion had been carried, management would have taken a giant stride towards their objectives.

But the battle did not end with the votes. The government is determined.

That Dennis Healey referred directly to the Leyland proposals in his speech last Thursday—excepting Leyland from the 12-month rule—is a measure of that determination.

## PUSHED ASIDE

The collaborators on the convenors' committee have served their purpose for the moment and are now to be pushed to one side.

Leyland has announced that they intend to go over the heads of the convenors and attempt to ballot the plants using the support of Scanlon and the bureaucracy of the Confed.

The problem is that the resistance and hostility to the deal is developing fast.

They could not get it in without a fight.

In plants such as Cowley the response has been developed—an independent wage claim, without strings to regain and defend wages lost in the period of the Social Contract.

\*Our next issue will carry an examination of the role of the left groups on the corporate bargaining issue.

# Defend Stewards

As we went to press, AUEW shop stewards representing maintenance workers at Heathrow were due to recommend to a mass meeting that strike action should be taken in defence of sacked steward Jack Gatsky if management do not reinstate him by Thursday.

Gatsky was sacked for calling for an inquiry into the safety record of British Airways, after a number of Trident aircraft were grounded with cracks in their wings.

Another steward, Ian Morris, has been suspended for defending Gatsky's right to make the statement he did, and for refuting BA Chairman McFazdean's claim that "there is a political campaign to ground the airline."

He clearly also faces the sack if Gatsky is not successfully defended.

Most disturbing, however, is the delay in getting action off the ground in defence of the two stewards.

Gatsky was first suspended nearly two weeks ago and Morris was suspended on 9 August. But instead of taking immediate action, the stewards did not call a mass meeting until Friday 12 August when news of Gatsky's dismissal was released.

Because union officials were still consulting with management when the meeting was due to start, the meeting was postponed until Tuesday 16 August.

Monday's stewards' meeting which decided to recommend strike action has permitted further delay by giving management until Thursday to reinstate Gatsky and by failing to take a position on the suspension of Morris.

British Airways are clearly out to provoke a strike. They have 12 Tridents grounded and are already short of aircraft as the peak season continues. To therefore sack a leading steward under these conditions is clearly to invite strike action in response.

Whatever McFazdean's motives in taking such provocative action, the challenge must not go unanswered.

Strike action must be implemented straight away and maintained until Gatsky is reinstated and the charges against Morris are dropped.

A return to work should also be made conditional on British Airways paying the shift pay money negotiated and agreed a few weeks ago, which the government now say cannot be paid till January and must be part of the engineers' 10% annual pay rise!

# PAY LIMIT UNDER FIRE

HOSTILITY TO THE AUEW circular by Hugh Scanlon supporting the 12-month rule is growing among Sheffield workers, with workers at a number of local factories aiming to breach the TUC ruling.

At Shadlows AUEW members are already imposing an overtime ban for a claim for an increase of around £20 a week, in defiance of the TUC's recommendations.

And a special meeting of the Sheffield Confed. shop stewards next Tuesday will discuss the fight against the 12-month rule and opposition to Scanlon's circular.

Meanwhile at Osborn Hadfields, staff members of TASS, APEN and

Phase 2 have lodged claims for a £20 a week increase.

TWENTY ONE PRODUCTION workers at Flame Hardeners Ltd., Sheffield who walked out on strike on July 18 against the sacking of a trainee, and then all joined the AUEW have won a complete victory.

In an officially-backed action lasting four weeks the workers managed to get blacking action imposed by the big steelworks in the town and were able to force management to concede reinstatement of the sacked worker and union recognition.

They have now lodged a claim

# BANBURY STRIKE HITS AT 12-MONTH RULE

700 TGWU members at Export Packing Services factory near Banbury are now on indefinite strike action for an immediate £15 a week increase, following a claim submitted in the wake of the TGWU conference rejection of the



HPS workers on a mass meeting...

The next official pay review is not for another six months. But feeling on wages is running high among the workforce.

The resolution from the floor for immediate strike action was

meeting, with workers walking out at once despite the fact that the factory is in an isolated part of the country, and many workers had to immediate transport home.

The meeting also voted not to

# QUEEN VISITS HER TORTURERS

Six years after the introduction of internment the Queen visited her Irish colony. To permit this royal inspection of a subjugated part of the Irish people to go forward a massive influx of troops was sent on ahead to saturate the nationalist areas of Belfast.

Despite the alarm whipped up in the mass media that some Republican marksman would waste a bullet on this parasitical drone, the undisguisable fact of the matter was that the entire oppressed nationalist minority boycotted the royal 'good will' circus.

Even the Catholic middle class party of Gerry Fitt, the Social Democratic Labour Party, feeling the unanimous hostility of the nationalist population was obliged to refuse to attend any of the royal festivities.

## SECLUDED

And all glossed over the fact that she had *not* gone where she pleased and that she had only met a handful of predominantly middle class Protestants in secluded surroundings in the predominantly Protestant towns of Hillsborough and Coleraine.

Even to achieve these meetings she needed the protection of 32,000 police and soldiers, the deployment of innumerable helicopters and an undisclosed number of submarines to protect the royal yacht.

All told it was the greatest security operation ever mounted in the north—greater than internment, operation motorman or either loyalist strike.

Behind the visit however lies the sordid deal that Michael Foot has cooked up with the Ulster Unionist MPs at Westminster. It is with this gang of backwoods Tory MPs that one-time so-called left Michael Foot has secured agreement.

## NO WITHDRAWAL

In return for their support in getting the Callaghan-Healey Phase 3 package through against the working class the Unionists have been given heightened military repression against the Catholics plus a royal visit whose purpose is to declare that there will be no troop withdrawal.

Indeed no sooner has this Windsor woman returned to England than Tory spokesman Airey Neave demands that the visit be followed up with "constitutional changes".

What these would be is quite clear. A restored Stormont under unionist domination. A domination of the nationalist population secured by the RUC.

This expanded, militarised, and now "non-sectarian" RUC is the key element in the British government's strategy. The fraudulent character of the English propaganda on the new impartial and reformed RUC is well exposed by two Catholic priests over the case of Gerry Dowdall.

## GRENADIERS

Dowdall was hit several times in the front of his body in a shooting incident in South Derry by members of the Grenadier Guards.

So bad were the wounds from the Guards' high velocity rifles that Dowdall was at first assumed to be dead.

Taken to Musgrave Park top security hospital in Belfast surgeons had to wait several weeks before they felt Dowdall was strong enough to face an operation.

Two major operations on his abdomen had to be spaced out. Though he lost a kidney, his chances of recovery after surviving the second operation were thought to be good until visitors to his hospital bed on June 8 found that he had been abducted by the RUC and taken to the notorious Castle-reagh interrogation centre in East Belfast.

Beaten and abused, his still sensitive wounds pulled open by the police, Dowdall was held for five days of intensive questioning before being transferred to Crumlin Road prison.

## HUNGER STRIKE

Denied exercise granted to other prisoners and subject to constant victimisations by the prison, Dowdall protested by a hunger and thirst strike. To which the authorities responded by wrecking his cell.

Dowdall's treatment was brought to public attention by two priests Murray and Paul. Their pamphlets containing exposures of British Army atrocities and sectarian murders carried out by Her Majesty's Ulster Defence Regiment in the Tyrone 'murder triangle' are banned in the Republic.

The torturing of Dowdall by the RUC is a clear foretaste of the kind



of regime that the British government hopes to restore.

A few IRA bombs are no adequate protest against the Queen's visit to occupied Irish territory.

Strikes involving all the nationalist population rather than individual heroics are what is required to prise loose the grip of British imperialism.

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With only seven weeks remaining, there is still a long way to go to reach the £3,000 target for the Special Fund to launch the weekly Socialist Press. Since our last issue we have received exactly £126.00 giving us a total of £1,686.08.

The greatest effort will have to be mounted in those remaining weeks to ensure that the full amount is reached and the weekly paper is launched on target, at the beginning of October.

Meanwhile our thanks to the following for donations received: TW & BW £30; JH \$30; RE £5; East London £1; Carworkers £4.50; Oxford supporters £21.43; Leamington £12.25; Liverpool £8.10; CK £5; Hull £8.50 Manchester £6.22. Posters £18; American readers \$50.

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## Wages...

(From Front Page)



Callaghan

for this to be plant policy. In the public sector, unions must reject any attempt to enforce cash limits, fighting instead for social service spending to rise to protect services against inflation.

Where private employers or government departments claim they cannot pay we must demand they open their books to an elected trade union committee to expose the real state of the concern and its links with banks and private suppliers.

Each of these policies means complete opposition to the Lib-Lab coalition government. Workers must demand that 'left' Labour MPs and delegates to the Labour Party conference fight for a break in this wage-cutting coalition and vote against all its reactionary policies.

The Workers Socialist League is fighting on these policies for a new leadership within the unions, and will be lobbying both the TUC and the Labour Party

## MORE DETAILS

Please send me more information about the Workers Socialist League.

Name .....

Address .....

Post to WSL, 31, Dartmouth Park Hill, London NW5 1HR.

**WORKERS SOCIALIST LEAGUE COVENTRY**

Public Meeting  
"Regain and Defend Living Standards"  
Tuesday August 30 at 8pm  
'Old Dyers Arms'  
Spon End, Coventry

**WORKERS SOCIALIST LEAGUE LIVERPOOL**

Public Meeting  
"South Africa"  
Wednesday 7 September at 7.30 pm  
AUEW Hall  
Mount Pleasant

**WORKERS SOCIALIST LEAGUE**

Autumn Bazaar  
Saturday 1st October  
East Oxford Community Centre  
Princes St.  
Off Cowley Road  
Doors open: 2.30  
Bottle stalls \* Bring and Buy \* Cakes \* Books \* Jewellery \* Raffles \* Clothes

60th Anniversary of the Russian Revolution  
To commemorate the 60th Anniversary of the Russian Revolution the Workers Socialist League has produced in a limited edition of 500, a five colour silk screen print of a recruitment poster for the Red Cavalry.

This poster is available from local branches of the Workers Socialist League, price £1 or from WSL, 31, Dartmouth Park Hill, London NW5 1HR price £1 plus 25p p & p.

All proceeds to the Socialist Press Special Fund for the weekly paper.